

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 017571 TOSEC 010199

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

S E C R E T STATE 017571 TOSEC 010199

NODIS

FOL REPEAT OF DAKAR 0436 TO SECSTATE JAN 23

QTE:

S E C R E T DAKAR 0436

NODIS

PASS SECRETARY

ALSO PASS AMEMBASSIES ABIDJAN KINSHASA LUSAKA FOR INFO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, AO, SG, US

SUBJ: POST OAU SUMMIT FEEDBACK FROM SENGHOR

REF: A. STATE 010167, B. STATE 015471, C. STATE 013264

1. SUMMARY: IN JAN 22 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR,  
AMBASSADOR MADE POINTS AS INSTRUCTED ON NEED FOR CON-  
TINUING OFFENSIVE BY MODERATES AND ALSO PROVIDED BRIEFING

SECRET

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PAGE 02 STATE 017571 TOSEC 010199

ON CURRENT GROUND SITUATION IN ANGOLA. SENGHOR REAFFIRMED

DETERMINATION TO PURSUE PRESENT GOS ANGOLA POLICY AND SAID VICTORY IN OAU COUNCILS STILL COULD BE WON, SINCE SOME STATES HAD SUPPORTED MPLA AT ADDIS OUT OF FEAR OF BEING DUBBED IMPERIALIST STOOGES OR OF PHYSICAL ASSASSINATION. HE SAID PRESS REPORTS OF CURTAILED US AID TO SENEGAL AND OTHER AFRICAN STATES HAD COME AT INOPPORTUNE TIME, ESPECIALLY SINCE RADICALS SUCH AS ALGIERS AND GUINEA WERE NOT SIMILARLY SINGLED OUT. SENGHOR SAID CUBANS WERE SPREADING WORD THEY ARE IN AFRICA TO STAY. HE FEARED BATTLE IN ANGOLA WOULD BE LOST ON GROUND IN ABSENCE STRONGER INTERVENTION AND TACTICAL SUPPORT BY WEST, AND HOPED US AND FRANCE WOULD TAKE LEAD IN DEVELOPING STRATEGY TO ROLL BACK SOVIETS/CUBANS. OTHERWISE, SOVIET/CUBAN INFLUENCE WILL TOPPLE ONE MODERATE REGIME AFTER ANOTHER. HE WILL MEET GISCARD IN MARCH TO DISCUSS STIFFER POSITION AND WILL MEET IN APRIL WITH CEAUSESCU, WHO REPORTEDLY OPPOSES SOVIET ROLE IN ANGOLA. SENGHOR ALSO MAY SEND FONMIN TO CAIRO, TUNIS, RABAT AND OTHER MODERATE CAPITALS IN FEBRUARY TO DISCUSS ADVISABILITY OF RECOGNIZING FNLA/UNITA. END SUMMARY.

2. IN JAN 22 MEETING WITH SENGHOR, I MADE POINTS ON ANGOLA AS INSTRUCTED REFTEL - AND BRIEFED PRESIDENT ON GROUND SITUATION ON BASIS REFTEL B. HE TOOK NOTES. DURING 40-MINUTE MEETING WHICH FOLLOWED, SENGHOR REAFFIRMED SENEGALESE DETERMINATION TO PURSUE ITS ANGOLA POLICY. HE WAS CONVINCED THAT MODERATES COULD WIN POLITICAL BATTLE IN OAU COUNCILS BUT FEARFUL THAT FLNA/UNITA FORCES WOULD LOSE BATTLE ON GROUND UNLESS THERE WAS STRONGER INTERVENTION OF US AND OTHER WESTERN FORCES. IF THIS HELP FAILED TO COME, SOVIETS AND CUBANS WOULD EASILY EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. ONE AFTER ANOTHER MODERATE REGIME WOULD TUMBLE.

3. SENGHOR FELT MODERATES HAD WON MORAL VICTORY AT ADDIS ABABA BUT DECLARED HIMSELF VERY PESSIMISTIC CONCERNING SITUATION ON GROUND. HE DID NOT BELIEVE SOVIETS WOULD WITHDRAW FROM ANGOLA SINCE ONCE STRONGLY ENTRENCHED IN A COUNTRY THEY ALMOST ALWAYS TENDED TO STAY.

4. MODERATE ACHIEVEMENTS AT ADDIS ABABA HAD COME THROUGH  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 017571 TOSEC 010199

UNITY OF PURPOSE. LEADERSHIP FELL TO HIM AS DOYEN WHEN HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY STAYED BEHIND, ALLEGEDLY BECAUSE OF FEAR OF FLYING, AS WELL AS AHIDJO AND BONGO, BECAUSE OF CONCERN FOR ALGERIAN-INSPIRED PROBLEMS AT HOME. MODERATE POINT OF VIEW WAS REALLY ACCEPTED BY MORE THAN 22 WHO VOTED SENEGALESE RESOLUTION--BUT SEVERAL STATES WERE TERRORIZED BY OMNIPRESENT CUBANS. THEY HAD MORAL FEAR OF BEING DUBBED IMPERIALIST STOOGES AND PHYSICAL FEAR OF ASSASSINATION.

THEREFORE MOBUTU REFUSED TO STAY AT HOTEL AND DID NOT MAKE MAJOR STATEMENT DURING PROCEEDINGS.

5. SENGHOR SAID PRSS REPORTS ON EVE OF SUMMIT ABOUT US CUTTING AID TO CERTAIN AFRICAN STATES INCLUDING SENEGAL BECAUSE OF UN VOTES CAME AT MOST INOPPORTUNE TIME, PARTICULARLY SINCE THERE WAS NO MENTION OF ANY PENALTIES AGAINST GUINEA OR ALGERIA--RADICALS WHO CONSISTENTLY FOUGHT AGAINST WESTERN INTERESTS. I PUT PRESS REPORTS IN PERSPECTIVE OF INSTRUCTION OF REF C, WHICH SENGHOR SAID HE APPRECIATED.

6. SENGHOR REPORTED THAT CUBANS WERE SPREADING WORD THAT THEY ARE IN AFRICA TO STAY. ACCORDING TO FRANCE'S NEW MINISTER OF COOPERATION JEAN DE LIPKOWSKI (WHO ARRIVED IN DAKAR JAN 21 ABOARD INAUGURAL CONCORDE FLIGHT) CASTRO HAD TOLD SIMONE WEIL, FRANCE'S MINISTER OF HEALTH, THAT CUBA WOULD CONTINUE AND EXPAND ITS INTERVENTION IN AFRICA. FACED WITH THESE REALITIES, SENGHOR HOPED FRANCE WOULD TAKE STIFFER POSITION. GISCARD HAD JUST TELEPHONED HIM AND THEY WOULD MEET IN PARIS IN MARCH SO WORK OUT CERTAIN STRATEGY.

7. IN TERMS OF TACTICS FOR FUTURE, SENGHOR HOPED US AND FRANCE WOULD TAKE LEADERSHIP IN DEVELOPING WESTERN STRATEGY TO ROLL BACK SOVIET/CUBAN GAINS IN ANGOLA. IF SOUTH AFRICAN WHITE TROOPS WERE UNACCEPTABLE, BLACK TROOPS FROM THERE AND ELSEWHERE MIGHT NOT MEET SAME OBJECTIONS. ZAIRE'S TROOPS WERE PROVING POOR SOLDIERS AND IT DIFFICULT TO GAIN ASCENDANCY FACED WITH SOVIET TACTICS AND CUBAN MANPOWER. WEST SHOULD PROVIDE TACTICAL SUPPORT. HE REMINDED ME THAT ASST SECY SCHAUFELE HAD ASSURED HIM US WOULD NOT RELENT IN ITS POSITION DESPITE PROBLEMS OF RESOURCES AND CONGRESSIONAL CONSTRAINTS. HE HOPED WE WOULD FIND WAY TO KEEP SOVIETS FROM CARRYING  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 017571 TOSEC 010199

THE DAY. STRANGELY, WHEN MUCH OF AFRICA WISHED US INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA, OUR HANDS WERE TIED.

8. IF SITUATION HAD NOT TAKEN MAJOR TURN FOR BETTER BY LATE FEBRUARY, SENGHOR WOULD SEND FOREIGN MINISTER ASSANE SECK TO CAIRO, TUNIS, RABAT AND OTHER INFLUENTIAL ANTI-MPLA CAPITALS TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY WOULD NOT TAKE OFFENSIVE WITH TACTIC OF RECOGNIZING FLNA/UNITA REGIME. MEANWHILE HE HOPED US WOULD HAVE SOME SUCCESS IN CHANGING SOVIET POSITION. HE WOULD ALSO SEEK SUPPORT OF CEAUSESCU DURING VISIT TO ROMANIA ANNOUNCED LAST SEPT (DAKAR 5380) AND NOW SCHEDULED FOR APRIL. ROMANIANS HAD INFORMED HIM THEY FELT SOVIETS WERE ON WRONG COURSE IN AFRICA.

9. COMMENT: SENGHOR MADE IT CLEAR HE WOULD HAVE SUMMONED

ME HAD I NOT SOUGHT APPOINTMENT. HE WAS SOMEWHAT IMPATIENT  
DURING MY PRESENTATION AND APPEARED CONCERNED THAT HAVING  
ENCOURAGED MODERATES TO HOLD THE LINE US HAD DIFFICULTY FINDING  
STRATEGY FOR TELLING BLOW AGAINST SOVIET/CUBAN OFFENSIVE.  
AS HE IS IN FOREFRONT WITH POSITION COINCIDING ESSENTIALLY  
WITH OUR OWN, I HOPE WE CAN MAINTAIN DIALOGUE WITH HIM  
BY CONTINUING TO KEEP HIM BRIEFED AND SEEKING ADVICE  
ON TACTICS. HIS SUGGESTION OF CONCERTATION WITH  
FRENCH SEEMS WISE FROM THIS PERSPECTIVE.

9. NOTE THAT EMBASSY HAS LIMITED ADDRESSEES TO SAME LIST  
AS RECIPIENTS OF REFTEL A; WE RECOMMEND THAT DEPT REPEAT  
THIS CABLE TO ADDIS ABABA, BUCHAREST, MOSCOW, PARIS AND PRET-  
ORIA.

AGGREY  
UNQTE SISCO

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